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A

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

DANEGELD:

WITH

SOME FURTHER PARTICULARS

RELATING TO

Will. the Conqueror's SURVEY.

By a Member of the *Society* of *Antiquaries* of *London*.

Read at a Meeting of the SOCIETY, 1 *April*, 1756; and ordered to be printed.

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A

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

DANEGELD, &c.

THE particular attention your Lordſhip and the Society were pleaſed to ſhew to the paper I had the honor to lay before you the 29th Nov. 1755, containing an account of ſome particulars relative to Domes-day book, hath encouraged me to proſecute my inquiries, and I flatter myſelf that what I have now further to offer on that ſubject will not be diſpleaſing to the Society.

The learned Dean of Exeter, to whom this Society is under great obligations for his repeated antiquarian communications, in the paper he laid before the Society, the 22d Jan. 1756, concerning the Exeter MS. ſays, The common opinion is, that Danegelt was a tax of *one ſhilling* upon every hide of land in England, waſt-land, as he ſuppoſed, excepted. In my former paper, p. 20. I tranſcribed a paſſage from Mr. Arthur Agard, which implied, that Danegeld was, in its original inſtitution, a tax of ſix ſhillings on every hide of land. As I ſhall be always diffident of any opinion I may be thought to have adopted, that ſhall appear in the leaſt degree different from that of a perſon much more converſant with things of this ſort than myſelf, I thought it not improper to bring this matter to a cloſer examination. The reſult of this inquiry I have now the honor to lay before the Society, from which, I apprehend, it will appear that Mr. Gale, the learned Dean, and myſelf, were under a miſtake as to this matter; and that Danegeld was *originally* neither *one* Shilling,

 nor

nor *ſix* Shillings, but a tax of two Shillings per Hide. The inſeparable connection there is between the Domeſday ſurvey and Danegeld, will induce your Lordſhip and this learned Body to excuſe the trouble I give you of this ſecond paper; they will be of opinion the ſubject at leaſt is worthy their conſideration.

I.

1. DANEGELD, or, as it is called by the Saxons, Heregeld, heregildum, i. e. "tributum militare ſeu navale," began to be collected in the reign of king Ethelred about the year 991, as ſome writers ſuppoſe, ob pacandos Danos patriam infeſtantes, or, according to others, about the year 1012 or 1013, for the hiring Daniſh or other ſhips, ſoldiers, and mariners, to oppoſe the incurſions of our foreign invaders. It was originally an annual tax of two ſhillings on every hide of arable land in the kingdom; and was in its nature a land-tax, and is the firſt ſtated tax of that kind mentioned in our hiſtorians. It was called Danegeld, as being originally agreed to be paid to the Danes, and, like many other things, continued to retain the name long after it became appropriated to uſes intirely different. Mr. Tate in a liſt, inſerted by Mr. Camden, in his Britannia, p. 226. and by Sir Henry Spelman, in his Gloſſary, p. 292. makes the number of hides of land in England amount to 243,600, conſequently the groſs produce of this tax at two ſhillings per hide, would at that rate amount to 24,360 l. a very great ſum to be annually raiſed at that period. Edward the Confeſſor ſuſpended the payment of this tax during part of his time. In the reign of Will. I. it was in one inſtance increaſed to *ſix ſhillings*, and in that of W. Rufus to *four ſhillings* for each hide. In the reign of Henry I. it was *three ſhillings*, and in the reign of king Stephen *two ſhillings* per hide. It continued to be collected as low as 21 Hen. II. and probably later.

2. There were two kinds of payments made in the reign of Ethelred to the Danes; the one *tributary* to purchaſe peace, and put a ſtop to their depredations; theſe could not be annual, being in their nature ex re nata, accidental and occaſional, and were raiſed not by

 any

any ſtated tax, but in the beſt manner the neceſſity and urgency of affairs would permit. —— The other were *ſtipendiary*, or *ſubſidiary* payments, made annually, in conſequence of treaties, whereby the Danes contracted to furniſh the Engliſh with a fleet of ſhips of war, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, for the defence of the Engliſh coaſts, for which the Engliſh agreed to pay them a ſtated annual ſubſidy. For the raiſing this, the tax called Danegelt, which was an annual land-tax, was firſt introduced.

3. Some of our earlieſt hiſtorians, for want of diſtinguiſhing theſe two different kinds of payment, place the original of the tax in queſtion as early as the year 991, when the tributary payment to the Danes commenced; other writers have been of opinion this tax was originally collected not to furniſh money *to the Danes*, but to defray the expence of guarding our coaſt againſt *their invaſions*.

Sir Henry Spelman deſcribes Danegeld to be, " Tributum Anglis " indictum, aliàs ob *pacandos* Danos, aliàs ob *arcendos*." And a little lower, " Tributum annuum 48,000 librarum, ab omni populo era- " dendum, Danegeldum proprie nuncupatum." Gloſſary, p. 161.

The author of the Dialogus de Scaccario hath the following chapter written expreſſly on the ſubject of this tax.

" XI. QUID DANEGILDUM, ET QUARE SIC DICTUM. Inſula noſtra " ſuis contenta bonis peregrinis non eget. Hanc igitur merito dixere " priores, *Divitiiſque ſinum, deliciiſque larem*. Propter haec innumeras " ab exteris injurias paſſa eſt; quia ſcriptum eſt; *Furem precioſa ſignata* " *ſollicitant*. Circumjacentium enim inſularum praedones, irruptione " facta, maritima depopulantes, aurum, argentum, et quaeque pretioſa " tollebant. Verum cum rex et indigenae bellicis apparatibus inſtructi in " ſuae gentis defenſionem inſtarent, illi fugas aggrediebantur aequoreas. " Inter hos itaque pene praecipua et ſemper pronior ad nocendum " erat bellicoſa illa et populoſa gens Dacorum; qui praeter com- " munem raptorum avaritiam acrius inſtabant, quia aliquid de antiquo " jure in ejuſdem regni dominatione vendicabant, ſicut Britonum " pleniùs narrat hiſtoria."

" Ad hos igitur arcendos a regibus Anglicis ſtatutum eſt, ut de " ſingulis hidis regni, jure quodam perpetuo, *duo ſolidi* argenti ſol- " verentur in uſus virorum fortium, qui, perluſtrantes et jugiter " excubantes maritima, impetum hoſtium reprimerent. Quia igitur " principaliter pro Danis inſtitutus eſt hic reditus, Danegildum vel " Danegildus dicitur. Hic igitur annuâ lege, ſicut dictum eſt, ſub " indigenis regibus ſolvebatur, uſque ad tempora regis Willelmi " primi de gente et genere Normannorum. Ipſo namque regnante, " tam Daci quam caeteri terrae mariſque praedones hoſtiles co- " hibebant incurſus, ſcientes verum eſſe quod ſcriptum eſt, *Cum* " *fortis armatus cuſtodit atrium ſuum, in pace ſunt ea quae poſſidet.* " Noverant autem etiam quod acerrimae virtutis homines impunitas " non ferunt injurias. Quum ergo *diu* ſolviſſet terra ſub ejuſdem " regis imperio, noluit hoc ut annuum ſolvi, quod fuerat urgente " neceſſitate bellicae tempeſtatis exactum, nec tamen omnino propter " inopinatos caſus dimitti. Raro igitur temporibus illius, vel ſuc- " ceſſorum ipſius, ſolutus eſt: hoc eſt, cum ab exteris gentibus bella " vel opiniones bellorum inſurgebant. Verùm, quocunque tempore " ſolvatur, ab ipſo liberi ſunt qui aſſident ad Scaccarium. Vicecomites " quoque ab hoc quieti ſunt de dominiis ſuis, propter laborioſam " ejuſdem cenſus collectam."

Mr. Selden in his Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. hath given us a chapter expreſs on the ſubject of Danegeld, from which I have tranſcribed ſuch parts as contain his opinion concerning it.

" Tributum, ſeu ſtipendium Danegeldum dictum, ad rem navalem " et territorio marino tuendo quotannis pendebatur. —— Originem " habuit tributum hoc ſub Ethelredo rege. Scilicet is a Swano " Danorum rege miſeras tandem redactus in anguſtias, pace ab eo " empta, etiam ex foedere conduxit puppes Danorum 45, quae " regnum ſuum in mari excubando tutarentur, ſtipendia, quae ex " tributo hoc conflarentur, in commeatus annuatim accepturae. Quod " ut ritè intelligatur, advertendum eſt ex Hiſtoria Anglo-ſaxonica, " tributum ſeu cenſum Danis perſolvi ſub id tempus ſolitum non " unius fuiſſe generis. Aliud erat tributum ſeu pecuniae vis, quâ

" pacem

" pacem interdum Anglo-ſaxones ab illis inſulam graviter infeſtantibus
" redimebant: aliud vero, quod claſſi Danicae, ad tutandum mare
" oraſque defendendas maritimas conductae, ut ſtipendium praeſta-
" batur. —— Neque quotannis pendi ſolebat hoc genus primum, ſed
" pro re nata ſubinde praeſtitum eſt. —— Quod vero ſecundi generis
" erat claſſi Danicae, ut dictum eſt, conductae ſolvendum, id an-
" nuum fuit. Nec certa pecuniae quantitate finiebatur, ſed quanta
" claſſiariorum victui et veſtitui ſufficeret. —— Utrumque autem
" praeſtationis, quam diximus, genus, Danezeld, Danegeldum ſeu
" Danageldum, id eſt, tributum Danicum, dicebatur. —— Secundum
" vero, quod pro claſſiariorum commeatu ſolutum eſt, itidem eadem
" voce indigitabatur, tum quia ex foedere Danico natum, tum quia
" Danicae claſſi marino territorio tuendo conductae pendi ſolitum.
" Unde et idem retinuit nomen tam ſub ipſis regibus Danicis, veluti
" Canuto, Haroldo I. Hardecanuto, quam ſub Anglo-ſaxonibus ſeu
" Anglicanis. —— Apud Matthaeos Weſtmonaſterienſem et Pariſien-
" ſem annua ſtipendii hujus Danici penſio triginta octo millibus
" librarum aeſtimatur. Quod ſane temere nimis ab eis ſcriptum eſt.
" Nec melius illi, quibus triginta millibus librarum taxatur illa
" penſio, velut Chronici Melrocenſis autori. Nam qualicunque cenſus
" ratione, pro temporum varietate, tributum ipſum regi penderetur,
" certiſſimum videtur ſtipendia claſſi Danicae praeberi ſolita adeo
" incerta fuiſſe, ut nunc ampliora multo, nunc anguſtiora, pro
" navium et claſſiariorum numero tutelae marinae idoneo (quod nec
" aliter evenire potuiſſe credendum eſt) praeſtarentur." Selden.
Opera, vol. iv. p. 1317. to 1322.

4. In order to determine which of the abovementioned opinions ought to be adopted, it will be neceſſary to compare the different accounts our hiſtorians have given of this matter with each other. For this purpoſe I have tranſcribed ſuch of them as appeared to me to be material, in the author's own words, and as near as could be in a regular order of time: by this means the Society will have the whole before them in one view.

H. Hunt.

H. Hunt. Hiſt. lib. v. p. 205. a. "Edelredi regis anno decimo "tertio (A. D. 991.) primum ſtatuerunt Angli, concilio infauſto Siricii "archiepiſcopi, quod ipſi cenſum Danis perſolverent, quatenus a "rapinis et caede ceſſarent, et dederunt eis decem mille libras. "Hoc autem malum uſque in hodiernum diem [tempore regis "Stephani] duravit, et diu, niſi Dei pietas ſubveniat, durabit. Regibus "namque noſtris modo perſolvimus ex conſuetudine, quod Danis "perſolvebatur ex ineffabili terrore."

Florent. Wigorn. p. 609. A°. 991. "Quo inſuper anno Sirici "Dorobernenſis archiepiſcopi, et ducum Aethelwardi et Alfrici "conſilio Danis tributum, quod erat 10 millium librarum, *primitus* "datum eſt, ut a crebris rapinis cremationibus et hominum occiſi-"onibus, quas circa ripas maris frequenter agebant, deſiſterent, "pacemque firmam cum eis tenerent." —— Simeon Dunelmenſis, p. 196. Matth. Weſtm. p. 169. And Roger Hoveden, p. 245. b. ſay the ſame, in almoſt the ſame words.

Chronicon. Saxon. p. 126. "Anno 991. hoc anno decretum eſt "primum jam ut ſolveretur tributum Danicis viris propter magnos "horrores quos incuſſerunt incolis maritimis. inprimis nempe x millia "librarum. Illud concilium conſtituit Siricus archiepiſcopus."

Chronicon Johannis Brompton, abbatis Jornalenſis (*a*). "Anno "Ethelredi regis xiii. —— Angli infauſto concilio Sirici Cantuari-"enſis archiepiſcopi, ut Daci a rapinis et caedibus ceſſarent, cenſum "pravum eis ſolvere ſtatuerant. Quibus x millibus librarum *primo* "pro tributo datis, hoc malum uſque in *hodiernum diem* in Anglia, "et *diu, niſi Dei pietas ſubveniat, durabit.* Nam regibus noſtris "*modo* (*b*) conſuetudine ſolvimus quod Danis tunc ex terrore ineffabili "ſolvebatur. *Secundo* vero ſolvebatur eis tributum 16 millium libra-

(*a*) Decem Scriptores, p. 879.

(*b*) From hence it appears, this part, at leaſt, of this chronicle was wrote while Danegeld was a ſubſiſting tax, and therefore much earlier than the reign of Edward III. as low as which Mr. Selden, in his preface to the Decem Scriptores, hath ſhewn *a part* of it which anſwers to the year 1069 was wrote; others ſuppoſe the author wrote about the year 1198. Vide Tanner de Scriptoribus Angl.

"rum;

" rum; *tertio* 24 millium librarum; *quarto* 30 millium librarum;
" *quinto* 40 millium librarum, donec tandem pecunia deficiente iterum
" tenderent ad rapinas."

Ran. Higden, in his Polychronicon (*c*), mentions a third payment of 20,000 l. omitted by Brompton, and both these authors state these payments, which, according to Higden, amount to 140,000 l. as being paid the same year.

Ra. de Knighton de Eventibus Angliae (*d*), agrees with Higden as to the number and quantity of the payments, and adds they were made annually; but with respect to the time when the five last payments were made, these writers are all mistaken.

Knyghton's words are; " Interea, Dunstano mortuo, Dani venerunt
" in Angliam quasi in quolibet portu Angliae; unde nesciebatur qua
" parte illis occurrerent; unde consilio Sirici archiepiscopi successoris
" Dunstani tributum *annuum* solvunt. Primo *anno* x. mil. libr.
" Secundo anno xvi mil. Tertio anno xx mil. Quarto anno xxiv
" mil. Quinto anno xxx mil. tandem xl mil. donec pecunia de-
" ficiebat in Anglia. Et tunc redierunt iterum ad rapinas."

It appears by the Saxon chronicle, and other historians, that the first tribute of 10,000 l. was paid A°. 991.—— The second of 16,000 l. A°. 993, or 994.—— The fourth of 24,000 l. A°. 1001. —— The fifth of 30,000 l. A°. 1007.

5. The Danes renewing their ravages, Ethelred determined to levy a large fleet and army to oppose them. This he did by an occasional land-tax, then introduced for the first time; every three hundred and ten hides of land being taxed with providing a ship, and every eight hides with finding a soldier, armed with a head-piece and breast-plate. But these preparations, like all the former of this weak and unfortunate prince, proving unsuccessful, he was reduced A°. 1011. to sue for peace; and accordingly by a treaty concluded A°. 1012. between him and the Danes, in consideration of 8000 l. as the Saxon

(*c*) Gale's Scriptores Angl. vol. iii. p. 270.
(*d*) Decem Scriptores, vol. ii. p. 2315.

Chronicle,

Chronicle, and Henry of Huntingdon, ſay, or rather, as moſt other authors mention, of 48,000 l. paid them by the Engliſh, the Danes agreed to put an end to the war, and to furniſh Ethelred with forty five ſhips of war, for the future protection of his kingdom from foreign invaſions, which were to be paid and maintained by the Engliſh.

" Anno milleſimo ſeptimo, rex Anglorum Egelredus, primatum " ſuorum conſilio nuncios ad Danos legans, iis mandavit, quòd " ſumptus et tributum eo tenore illis dare vellet, ut à rapinis deſiſte- " rent, et pacem cum eo firmam tenerent; cujus poſtulationi con- " ſenſerunt, et *ex eo tempore* de tota Anglia ſumptus illis dabatur, et " tributum, quod erat 36,000 librarum, illis perſolvebatur." Hoveden, p. 246. b.

Saxon Chronicle, p. 142. A°. 1012. " Quum primum tributum " eſſet perſolutum, et pax juramentis firmata, diſperſus eſt late exer- " citus. Tum ſubditae ſunt regi de claſſe [Dacorum] XLV naves, " quae ei pollicitae ſunt ſe hanc terram defenſuros, *modo is illis victum* " *et veſtitum ſubminiſtraret*."

Hen. Huntingdonienſis (*e*), A°. 1012. " Tunc vero rex nimis ſero " pacem fecit cum Dacorum exercitu, dans eis 8000 librarum. —— " Subdiderunt autem ſe regi 45 puppes Danorum, promittentes quod " Angliam tuerentur, rex vero inveniret eis victum et veſtitum."

Hoveden (*f*), Anno 1012. " Perfidus dux Edricus Streona et " omnes Angliae primates ante Paſcha Lundoniae congregati ſunt, " et ibi tam diu morati ſunt quouſque tributum Danis promiſſum, " quod erat 48 mille librarum, perſolveretur. —— Poſt haec tributo " ſoluto, pace juramentis firmata, Danica claſſis, ut prius erat con- " gregata, longe lateque diſpergitur; ſed cum rege quadraginta " quinque naves remanſere *eique fidelitatem juravere*, et adverſus ex- " teros Angliam ſe defenſuros, eo tenore promiſerunt, ut eis victum " regimenque praeberet."

6. What the expence of maintaining this fleet amounted to is not mentioned by any of theſe writers. The Saxon Chronicle, A°. 1040.

(*e*) P. 207. a.
(*f*) Hoveden, p. 247. b. 248. a.

p. 156.

p. 156. takes notice that 11,048 l. was paid that year for 32 ſhips. At that rate the expence of 45 ſhips would amount to about 15,500 l. For want therefore of more exact information, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that a ſum of upwards of 15,000 l. was by this treaty become a ſtated charge on the kingdom, neceſſary to be annually provided for.

Ingulfus, Brompton, the Chronicon of Peterborough, and other authors affirm, the payment of Danegeld, as a ſtated tax, began in the year 1012 or 1013; probably in the treaty between Ethelred and the Danes, in imitation of what had been done by Ethelred A°. 1008, it was ſtipulated that the expence of theſe ſhips ſhould be raiſed by an annual tax on land.

In 1013, Ethelred retired to Normandy, and whether in the *firſt* inſtance this tax was collected by his authority, or by that of his ſucceſſor Swane, who was this year acknowledged by all the people, tanquam verum regem, is uncertain; Henry Huntindonienſis, p. 207. A°. 1013. " Swanus rex Dacorum venit —— et ab omni populo ha-
" bebatur pro rege, *juſſitque dari* per Angliam victum et cenſum
" exercitui ſuo."

Hoveden, p. 248. a. A°. 1013. " Menſe Julio rex Danorum
" Swanus cum valida claſſe ad Sandicum portum eſt appulſus ——
" qui ad ſuam claſſem reverſus, ab omni populo Anglorum rex
" appellabatur et habebatur. Quod cum vidiſſet rex Ethelredus ——
" Normanniam devehitur, et a Ricardo comite honorifice ſuſcipitur.
" Interea Swanus tyrannus, ſuae claſſae ſumptus affluenter parari et
" tributum fere importabile *ſolvi praecepit*."

7. A°. 1014. Swane died, and the Daniſh fleet elected Canutus king in his room; the Engliſh thereupon recalled Ethelred, who died in 1016. and was ſucceeded by Edmund, who, after ſeveral victories over the Danes, was the ſame year totally defeated by them, with the loſs of moſt of the Engliſh nobility, and reduced to agree to pay tribute to the Danes; ſoon after which he died; and upon his death A°. 1017. Canutus the Dane, became king of England, and the next year the Daniſh army, after receiving a tribute of 72,000 l. or

as Henry of Huntingdon ſays, 82,000 l. from the kingdom in general, beſides 10,000 l. or as others ſay, 10,500 l. from the city of London, returned to Denmark, leaving forty of their ſhips in Engliſh pay.

Canutus died in 1036, and was ſucceeded by Harold, who died in 1039. During theſe two reigns, which comprehend a ſpace of above twenty two years, a fleet of Daniſh ſhips of war were conſtantly kept in Engliſh pay; eight marks being the hire or wages annually given to each rower, and twelve marks to each captain or maſter. —— In 1039, upon the death of Harold, Hardacnute ſucceeded him, who kept this year ſixty two Daniſh ſhips in Engliſh pay, at the before mentioned rate.

A°. 1040. There was paid 21,099 l. for tribute, and afterwards 11,048 l. for the pay of thirty two ſhips; this is the laſt payment made to the Danes. The proofs of what is here advanced are ſet forth in the next ſection.

8. Florent. Wigorn. p. 619. A°. 1018. " Hoc anno de tota Anglia " 72 millia et de Lundonia 10,500 librarum exercitu Danorum ſunt " perſoluta, et cum rege Canuto 40 naves remanſere, ceterae vero " Denemerciam ſunt revectae; Angli et Dani apud Oxenefordam de " lege regis *Eadgari* tenenda concordes ſunt effecti.

Saxon Chronicon, p. 151. A°. 1018. " Hoc anno ſolutum fuit " iſtud tributum per totam Angliam gentem, nempe LXXII, millia " librarum; praeter id quod cives Lundenenſes perſolverunt, nempe " IX. millia librarum. —— Deinde Danici exercitus pars reverſa eſt " ad Denmearciam, XL autem naves remanſere cum rege Canuto. " Dani etiam et Angli concordes facti ſunt apud Oxnafordam.

Matth. Weſtm. p. 207. " Anno gratiae 1022. Angli et Dani in " colloquio apud Oxoniam celebrato, de legibus regis *Edwardi primi* " tenendis concordes effecti ſunt; unde eiſdem legibus, jubente rege " Cnutone, ab Anglica lingua in Latinam tranſlatis, tam in Dania " quam in Anglia propter earum aequitatem a rege praefato obſervari " jubentur."

Henry

Henry Huntington. p. 208. b. "Cnut rex Anglorum fecit per "Angliam mirabilem cenſum reddi, ſcilicet LXXXII mille lib. praeter "undecies mille lib. quas Lundonienſes reddiderunt."

Saxon Chron. A°. 1309. p. 156. "Hoc anno deceſſit Haroldus rex "—— ejuſque diebus ſoluta ſunt tributa XVI navibus, unicuique "nempe remigi VIII marcae, prout factum eſt Canuti regis aetate— "Hoc ipſo item anno venit Hardecanutus ad Sandwicum, VII diebus "ante mediam aeſtatem, et ſtatim ſuſceptus eſt tum ab Anglis tum "Danis: verum ob id poſtea proceres ejus multa mala ſunt paſſi. "Tum decretum eſt ut ſolverentur LXII navium ſingulis remigibus "VIII marcae."

Flor. Wigorn. p. 623. "Octo marcas unicuique ſuae claſſis remigi, "et duodecim unicuique gubernatori *de tota Anglia* praecepit rex "[Hardecanutus] dependi, tributum videlicet tam grave, ut vix aliquis "id poſſet perſolvere."

Saxon Chronicon, A°. 1040. p. 156. "Hoc anno fuit tributum "militare [heregeold] ſolutum, nempe XXI millia librarum et "XCIX librae, et poſtea ſolutae fuerunt XXXII navibus, XI millia "librarum et XLVIII librae.

Mr. Selden, Mare Clauſum, p. 1317. ſays this laſt ſum of 11,048 l. was paid for building 32 ſhips, "ſcilicet 32 navibus conſtruendis, quod "ſcribit Huntingdonienſis," which is a miſtake; Henry of Huntingdon's words are; "Anno ſecundo Hardecnut redditus eſt cenſus "exercitui Dacorum, ſcilicet 21,000 lib. et 89 lib. et poſtea ſunt "redditae 32 puppibus 11,000 lib. et 48 lib." p. 209. a.

9. A°. 1042. Hardicnute died, and was ſucceeded by Edward the Confeſſor, who put a ſtop to all future payments from the Engliſh to the Danes, as well tributary as ſtipendiary. He continued nevertheleſs to collect Danegeld from the ſubject until the year 1051, when, as Ingulphus and other authors ſay, he abſolutely repealed it. The laſt time he collected it, was, ad navigium faciendum, as appears from a writ of Will. I. which directs the boundaries and juriſdictions of the biſhop of Worceſter and the abbot of Eveſham, to be "ſicut

" erant die qua *noviſſime* tempore regis Edwardi geldum acceptum " fuit ad navigium faciendum." Heming Cartular. vol. i. p. 78.

" Rex Edwardus Anglos a gravi tributo, quod Danegeld dicebatur, " trigeſimo octavo anno ex quo pater ſuus Ethelredus primus id " Danicis ſoldariis ſolvi mandarat, integre abſolvit (*g*).

" Anno Domini 1051, Rex Edwardus Anglos a gravi tributo " ſolvit, quod eis pater ſuus propter Danorum ſoldarios impoſuerat (*h*).

" Anno Domini 1051, cum terra non daret ſolita fertilitate " fructus ſuos, ſed fame plurimos habitatores devoraret, in tantum " ut bladorum cariſtia et panis inopia multa hominum millia " morerentur: miſericordia motus ſuper pauperes, piiſſimus rex " Edwardus tributum graviſſimum, quod Danigeld dicebatur, omni " Angliae in perpetuum relaxavit (*i*)." The inducement for this is curious and diverting. " Ferunt quidam regem ſanctiſſimum, " cum dictum Danigeld cubicularii ſui collectum in regis cameram " intuliſſent, et ad videndum tanti theſauri cumulum ipſum addux- " iſſent, ad primum aſpectum exhorruiſſe, proteſtantem ſe daemo- " nem ſuper acervum pecuniae ſaltantem, et nimio gaudio exultan- " tem proſpexiſſe. Unde priſtinis poſſeſſoribus juſſit ſtatim reddere, " et de tam fera exactione ne iota unum voluit retinere, quin in " perpetuum remiſit, anno ſcilicet xxxviii, ex quo, tempore regis " Ethelredi patris ſui, Swanus Rex Danorum ſuo exercitui illud ſolvi " ſingulis annis *imperavit*."

Ailredus Abbas Rievallis, in his hiſtory of the life and miracles of Edward the Confeſſor, makes no mention of this pretended apparition, but gives the following account of the aboliſhing the tax in queſtion (*k*). " Tributum illud graviſſimum quod tempore patris ſui " primo claſſi Danicae pendebatur, poſt modum vero *Fiſco regio* " annis *ſingulis* inferebatur, regia liberalitate remiſit, et ab onere hoc " importabile in perpetuam Angliam abſolvit."

(*g*) Chronicon Petri Burgi, p. 42.
(*h*) Chronicon Johannis Brompton. p. 943.
(*i*) Ingulph. Script. Angl. vol. i. p. 65.
(*k*) Decem Scriptores, vol. i. p. 383.

Rad.

Rad. de Diceto Abbreviationes Chronicorum, p. 457. A°. 1051. "Rex Edwardus abſolvit Anglos a gravi vectigali triceſimo octavo "anno ex quo pater ſuus rex Egelredus primitus id Danicis ſolidariis "ſolvi *mandavit*." Hoveden, p. 253. a. ſays the ſame.

Chronicon Johannis Brompton. p. 943. "Anno Domini 1051. "Rex Edwardus Anglos a gravi tributo ſolvit, quod eis pater ſuus "propter Danorum ſoldarios impoſuerat".

Florent. Wigorn. p. 626. "A°. 1051. Rex Edwardus abſolvit "Anglos a gravi vectigali 38 anno ex quo pater ſuus rex Ethelredus "primitus id Danicis ſoldariis ſolvi mandarat."

Ranulph. Higden. Polychronicon, p. 278. A°. 1050. "Edwardus "rex abſolvit Anglos a gravi tributo, quod pater ſuus Egelredus "Danicis ſolidariis ſolvi fecerat, et jam per XL annos duraverat." Henr. de Knyghton, p. 233. uſes the ſame words.

Matthew of Weſtminſter, the Chronica of Mailros, and a few other hiſtorians, ſay, the ſubſidy or tribute, paid to the Danes for their ſhips, was a ſtated ſum of 30,000 l. or 38,000 l. a year; but this is a miſtake, probably not of the writers, but owing to the inaccuracy of the copyiſt or tranſcribers.

Chronica de Mailros (*l*), "Anno 1051. Rex Edwardus abſolvit "Anglos a gravi vectigali, id eſt, XXX librarum et VIII anno ex "quo pater ſuus rex Egelredus primitus Danicis id ſoldariis ſolvi "mandaverat."

Matth. Weſtm. p. 219. "Anno Gratiae 1051. Rex Edwardus a "vectigali graviſſimo Anglos abſolvit, quod patre vivente, Danicis "ſtipendiariis triginta octo millium librarum ſolvi conſuevit."

An ancient MS. chronicle in my cuſtody, which formerly belonged to the priory of Hickling in Norfolk. "Anno 1051. Edwardus "rex abſolvit Anglos a gravi tributo, id eſt XXXVIII librarum XXXVIII°. "anno ex quo pater ſuus rex Ethelredus primitus Danicis id ſoldariis "ſolvi mandarat."

(*l*) Scriptores Angl. vol. i. p. 157.

Hoveden,

Hoveden, p. 246. b. ſays it was 36,000 l. a year.

An annual tax of near four ſhillings on each hide of land would have been neceſſary to pay 38,000 l. a year to the Danes, and there is no mention in hiſtory until long after this period of any tax of that ſort.

10. Theſe payments to the Danes could not avoid being extremely oppreſſive and grievous to the people; they were rendered more ſo by the manner in which they were collected. If a perſon did not pay the ſum aſſeſſed within three days after the time appointed for paying it, the owner was liable to be turned out of his eſtate, and whoever would pay the tax for him put into the poſſeſſion of it. This proved the ſource of great fraud and oppreſſion, as will appear from the following extracts from the Liber Wigorienſis.

Heming. Cartular. vol. i. p. 248. " —— Sicuti factum eſt tem-
" poribus Ethelredi, regis Anglorum, vaſtante et depopulante hanc
" patriam pagano rege Danorum, SWEIN nomine, cum maximum
" et fere importabile tributum tota Anglia reddere cogeretur. Ob
" hujus itaque tam gravis tributi exactionem, omnia ferè ornamenta
" hujus eccleſiae diſtracta ſunt, tabulae altaris, argento et auro paratae,
" ſpoliatae ſunt, textus exornati, calices confracti, cruces conflatae, ad
" ultimum etiam terrae et villulae pecuniis diſtractae ſunt. Simili
" modo etiam actum eſt regnante CNUT, filio ſuo, et adhuc graviora
" vectigalia ſuperaddita ſunt temporibus regni filii CNUT, cujus nomen
" erat HARDECNUT, qui etiam totam iſtam provinciam hoſtile exercitu
" ferro et igne depopulavit."

Heming. Cartular. vol. i. p. 277. " Tempore quo CNUT rex
" Danorum, hac patria devicta, vectigal importabile toti Anglorum
" regno impoſuerat, ablatae ſunt diverſae villulae in Uuareuuicſcire à
" monaſterii poſſeſſione, vi et fraude malignorum Danorum, quorum
" potentia eo tempore terror erat indigenis hujus patriae. Conſtituerunt
" enim, ut, ſiquid vectigalis ad III^am^. conſtituti diei deeſſet, *quiſquis*
" *prius pecuniam pro ea ſolveret, ejus poſſeſſioni ſubjaceret.* Hac calli-
" ditate inventa, quiſquis aliquam terram de monaſterio concupierat,
" pecunia data vicecomiti, vectigali refugato etiam ſatis tempeſtivo,
" quod male concupierat, pro libitu injuſte rapiebat."

11. The

11. The 12th, or in ſome editions the 11th, of the laws commonly aſcribed to the Confeſſor, which in another place I have proved to be of a more modern date (*m*), gives this account of Danegeld.

" DE DANEGELDO. Danegeldi redditio propter pyratas primitus " ſtatuta eſt. Patriam enim infeſtantes vaſtationi ejus pro poſſe ſuo in- " ſiſtebant. Ad eorum quidem inſolentiam reprimendam ſtatutum eſt, " Danegeldum annuatim reddi, ſcilicet 12 denarios ex unaquaque hida " totius patriae, ad conducendos eos qui piratarum irruptioni reſiſtendo " obviarent. De hoc quoque Danegeldo libera et quieta erat omnis " eccleſia, et etiam omnis terra, quae *in proprio dominio* eccleſiae " erat, ubicunque jacebat, nihil prorſus in tali redditione perſolvens, " quia magis in eccleſiae confidebant orationibus quam in armorum " defenſionibus. Et hanc libertatem tenuit Anglorum eccleſia uſque " ad tempora Willielmi regis junioris, qui de baronibus totius Angliae " auxilium petiit ad Normanniam retinendam de fratre ſuo Roberto, " Normannorum comite, Jeruſalem proficiſcente. Conceſſum eſt ei, " non lege ſtatutum neque firmatum, ſed habuit neceſſitatis cauſâ " ex unaquaque hida 4 ſolidos, eccleſia non excepta; quorum dum " fieret collectio, proclamabat ſancta eccleſia, libertatem ſuam repoſcens, " ſed nihil profecit (*n*)"

The paſſage before cited of Ingulphus, who was a cotemporary author, and in whoſe copy of the Confeſſor's laws, as confirmed by the Conqueror, this law is not inſerted, furniſhes an additional argument, if any arguments are wanting, againſt the authority and genuineneſs of the law relating to Danegeld. If Edward the Confeſſor had for ever aboliſhed Danegeld, it could not have been certified to W. the Conqueror, as a tax ſubſiſting by virtue of a law of that king. The truth is, that this law, attributed to the Confeſſor, was, as I have obſerved on another occaſion, an interpolation made as late as the time of Hen. II. and is therefore of no authority with regard to the preſent inquiry.

(*m*) Queſtion concerning the Jews, p. 32, 33.
(*n*) Leges Edwardi. Wilkins, p. 198.

12. It

12. It is probable Will. I. collected Danegeld in the ſecond year of his reign. Simeon of Durham, Knyghton, Brompton, and many other of our hiſtorians agree, that, upon his return from Normandy, in the year 1067, he levied an inſupportable tax upon the people, "Importabile tributum Anglis indixit." How often he collected Danegeld after this period does not appear, except that A°. 1084, or 1086, he encreaſed it to ſix ſhillings per hide, which was three times more than it appears to have ever been aſſeſſed at before.

"Anno regis Willielmi xviii (A°. 1084) idem Rex de qualibet "hida terrae in Anglia ſex ſolidos habuit et accepit." —— Chron. Joh. de Brompton. p. 2351. Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2352.

Matthew Paris ſays it was collected A°. 1083, after the ſurvey was made: —— "Deinde [that is after the making the ſurvey] de uno-"quoque aratro, id eſt, hyda terrae, totius regni ſex ſolidos cepit "argenti." Edit. Watts, p. 9.

Matthew of Weſtminſter, p. 229. ſays the ſame, and treats it as a larger tax than uſual. —— "Deinde ſenior factus avarior, et de "rege tyrannus, de unoquoque aratro, id eſt, hyda terrae, totius "regni ſex ſolidos extorſit truculenter."

The Saxon Chronicle places the collecting this tax in the ſame year 1083. p. 185. "Hoc etiam ipſo anno [1083.] poſt Natales, "rex permiſit exigi magnum tributum ac grave per totam Anglorum, "terram, id eſt, pro unaquaque hida duos et ſeptuaginta denarios."

In the Inquiſitio Geldi for the five Weſtern counties in the Exeter MS. Danegeld, is throughout computed at ſix ſhillings per hyde, and wherever it differs, it is only in ſmall fractions, owing to the miſtakes of the writer or copier, which, by the manner in which they at that time expreſſed their ſums and quantities, they were very liable to.

In Wiltſhire, in the hundred of Mere (Exeter MS. p. 288.) the Danegeld for 51 hydes is 15 l. 6 s. $51 \times 6 = 306$ ſhillings.

In Somerſetſhire, p. 237. b. in the manor of Torlberg, three hides paid the king 18 s. for this tax. $6 \times 3 = 18$.

In Devonſhire, p. 311. a. in Hertiland hundred ſeven hides paid 2 l. 2 s. and in Toritone 24 hides are rated at 7 l. 4 s.

In Dorſetſhire, p. 297. a. in Henoltune hundred 14½ hides paid 4 l. 7 s. 14½ × 6 = 87 ſhillings.

In Cornwall, p. 304. a. in Winnentone hundred ſix hides paid 1 l. 16 s. and in Fanurcone hundred, 304. b. 11½ hides paid 3 l. 9 s. 11½ × 6 = 69 ſhillings.

13. In the following imperfect and unintelligible law of Hen. I. Danegeld is ſuppoſed to be in his reign 12 d. per hide.

"XV. DE DANEGELDO. Danegildum, quod aliquando ringe "manus dabatur. i. XII. denar. de unaque hida per annum: ſi ad "terminos non reddatur Wyta emendetur." Unleſs you will ſuppoſe a miſtake in the copy, and that it ſhould be ii. XII. denar. twice 12 d. a method of expreſſion not infrequent in ancient MSS. Thus in the Exeter MS. quater xx = 80.

The reading as it ſtands in the text is unſupported by any other authority I have been able to meet with, and is contradicted by what paſſed in the ninth year of the reign of Hen. I. (A°. 1114.) who, on marrying his daughter Maud to the emperor, collected Danegeld throughout the kingdom at the rate of *three* ſhillings per hide "Rex itaque cepit ab unaquaque hida Angliae tres ſolidos." Hen. Hunting. p. 379.

A MS. chronicle in Trinity College, Cantab. cited by Mr. Madox, Hiſtory of the Exchequer, p. 475. ſays, A°. 1114. "A cel tens fu "done Danegeld par mi Engleterre."

Hen. I. in his thirtieth year, "in redemptionem peccatorum ſuorum," promiſed, "ut ſeptem annis Danicum tributum relaxaret." Rad. Higden, lib. vii. c. 17.

King Stephen, at his coronation, (A°. 1135.) faithfully promiſed. among other things, "quod Danegeldum, id eſt, *duos ſolidos* ad "hidam, *quos Anteceſſores* ſui ſingulis annis accipiebant, in aeternum "condonaret." Roger of Wendover, Henry of Huntingdon, and

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the other authors, who mention this, ſay he did not keep his promiſe. In this they are ſupported by the Revenue Rolls of his reign.

Mr. Madox (Hiſtory of the Exchequer, p. 475.) ſays, that, "in "the great roll of the fifth year of king Stephen, Danegeld is "accompted for in every county, as if it was a ſettled yearly revenue; "that is, in the like words of form, which were then wont to be "uſed in accompting for the ſettled yearly revenue. Thus the "Danegeld for the firſt year (viz. the immediate year accompted "for) was called barely Danegeld, or novum Danegeldum; the "Danegeld for the next preceding year, praeteritum Danegeldum; "the Danegeld for the third preceding year, vetus Danegeldum, etc.

Mr. Selden in his Mare Clauſum, lib. ii. cap. xv. takes notice that it appeared by the Exchequer Rolls, that Danegeld had been paid in the reign of Hen. II. and Mr. Madox, by extracts from thoſe rolls, hath ſince proved it was accompted for in the great rolls of the 2. 3. 4. 5. 7. 20. and 21. Hen. II. I ſhall tranſcribe the two laſt of thoſe extracts.

"Oſbertus de Brai, r c de xl marcis de miſericordia quia prohibuit "Danegeldum dari de dominiis. In theſauro liberavit et quietus eſt." Mag. Rot. 20. Hen. II. Rot. 9. a. Berckſcira.

"Et Heliae oſtiario i marcam ad portandas ſummonitiones de "Danegeldo per Angliam per breve regis." Mag. Rot. 21. Hen. II. Rot. 3. a Londonia et Middleſexa. Hiſt. Excheq. p. 479. n. *i. k.*

Ralph Higden in his Polychronicon, p. 202. de legibus legumque vocabulis, gives this definition of Danegeld, "Danegeld, id eſt, Tail-"lagium datum Danis, id eſt, iii^{d}. de qualibet bovata terrae."

Now as eight bovates were equal to a carucate, and as a carucate was generally underſtood to be the ſame as a hide, it follows that Danegeld was two ſhillings, or 24 pence $= 8 \times 3$ per hide.

The foregoing authorities I apprehend clearly make out what I undertook to prove, that Danegeld was originally and in its inſtitution a tax of *two ſhillings* on every hide.

Danegeld,

Danegeld, Heregeld, Hidegeld, Hidage, Carucage, were different names for the ſame tax anciently raiſed upon land; in its original it was called Danegeld, Heregeld; afterwards Hidegeld and Hidage; and laſt of all Carucage and Caruage.

Caruca, Carucata, Aratrum, and Hyda, were at that time conſidered as ſynonymous, and to expreſs the ſame quantity of land.

" A°. 1200. Rex Johannes mutuavit regi Franciae xxx millia " marcarum, pro quibus collectum eſt *Caruagium* in Anglia, ſcil. iii s. " pro quolibet *Aratro*." Reg. prioratus de Dunſtaple, p. 47.

" A°. 1221. Rex Henricus cepit de qualibet carucatu terrae, duos " ſolid." Chron. MS. prioratus de Hickling.

Sir H. Spelman, in his Gloſſary, p. 127. defines Carucage to be " Tributi genus, quod ſingulis Aratris *communi regni conſilio* imponitur."

MS. Roffen. fol. 138. A°. 1224. 8 Hen. III. " Hoc anno Domini " regi pro magnis laboribus ſuis et expenſis tam a praelatis quam a laicis " conceſſum eſt per totam Angliam *Carucagium*, de qualibet ſcil. " *Caruca* duo ſolidi."

Mr. Madox, in his hiſtory of the Exchequer, p. 502. 503. hath tranſcribed ſeveral entries from the accompts in the revenue rolls of perſons, who, in the 10, 14, and 19 Hen. III. accounted for the arrears of *Carucage*; he is of opinion it was a tax of ſo much for each carue of land, holden *by baſe or inferior tenure only*, in which poſſibly he is miſtaken; he admits he found very little about it in the revenue rolls.

II.

By Terra, in Domeſday book, and other records relative to this matter, is always underſtood arable land, in contradiſtinction to paſture, meadow, wood, etc. which, although deſcribed in the ſurvey, their contents are not therein expreſſed in hides, but in acres, leucae, quadragenarii, etc. which were not charged with this tax, or conſidered as part of the geldable or arable land.

Thus in the Exeter MS. produced by the Dean of Exeter to the Society, after mentioning the number of hides of arable land, and the amount of Danegeld paid for it, the Survey describes the reſt of the lands after this manner:

" iiii quadragenar' nemoris in longitudine, et ii quadragenar' in " latitudine — xl agros prati et ii quadragenarias paſcuae."

Cities and towns which had no arable lands, paid Danegeld in proportion to a certain number of hides. Thus Exeter paid quantum v hidae terrae: Saliſbury gelded for fifty hides, etc.

III.

Danegeld was not, as has been imagined, a partial tax on a part only of the arable lands of the kingdom, but was univerſal and extended over the whole.

Mr. Roger Gale, a late learned member, and great ornament of this Society, in the appendix to his Regiſtrum honoris de Richmond, is of opinion that the Domeſday ſurvey, and conſequently the account of the perſons paying Danegeld, was confined to the lands *of ſuch as held immediately of the king, and of the church.* —— How he has made out a propoſition, which he admits to be contrary to the uniform voice of almoſt every ancient writer, may probably be the ſubject of a future inquiry.

" Obſervabimus primo quod clare conſtet, reclamante licet grege " monachorum noſtrorum, vel ex ipſo Libro Cenſuali, omnes terras " Angliae in eo nequaquam fuiſſe deſcriptas. —— *Infinita* pene vil- " larum antiquarum nomina in ea omiſſa. —— Quidni igitur ex eo " hoc factum fit, quod *ſoli tenentes de rege*, et de eccleſia (quae etiam " de rege tenebat) eo in *Cenſu* deſcriberentur, terrae autem quae " Anglis remanſerunt, iis ſcilicet *qui non fuerunt in conſilio et auxilio* " *contra Willielmum regem*, neutiquam *ad Examen revocatae ſint?*" Mr. Gale concludes with ſaying —— " Contra opinionem *per ſecula* " *ſtabilitam* imus, ſed veritati litamur, librum ipſum et equos judices " appellamus." Append. Regiſt. Honoris de Richmond, p. 227.

The

The inſtances in the Conqueror's ſurvey, which mention, that in ſome few eſtates the number of hides were not known, and that they never paid this tax, were probably owing to thoſe lands not having been turned up into tillage until after the time of king Ethelred. But, in general, the number of hides belonging to the crown, the king and queen, and their tenants, were enumerated as well as thoſe of the ſubject. The Dialogus de Scaccario, c. viii. p. 23. ſays, "Cognita ſumma, quae de comitatu requiritur, ab his qui in comitatu "fundos habent, per hydas diſtribuitur."

The demeſne lands, which belonged to the king and queen, and thoſe in the hands of their immediate tenants and fermors, although aſſeſſed, did not pay this tax. The reaſon of which is obvious: it would be paying with one hand what they were to receive with the other.

The eſtates of many other perſons were originally, or in a courſe of years, exempted from paying it. The *demeſne lands* of churchmen and religious houſes were excuſed from it in conſequence, either of the eleemoſinary grants by which they held their lands from the crown, which were uſually granted —— "libera ab "omnibus ſecularibus ſervitiis et fiſcali tributo, exceptis expeditione, "arcis pontiſve extructione." —— or "adeo libera in omnibus ſicut "rex habuit in ſua propria manu —— or "adeo libera in omnibus "ſicut mea propria Dominica terra —— or "quieta de Geldis, "Danegeldis et Hydagiis" —— or the like (*o*); or they might be intitled to this exemption by virtue of ſome general grant antecedent to the commencement of this tax, ſuch as the grant made A°. 694, by Withredus Rex Cantiae, and renewed afterwards in a great council by Ethelbalus Rex Merciorum, in the following words, —— "Igitur ex hac die et deinceps concedimus et donamus, etc. eccleſiis "regni noſtri liberas eſſe perpetua libertate ab omnibus ſecularibus "ſervitiis, ab omni debito vel pulſione regalium tributorum, ut poſſint "pro nobis Deo omnipotenti hoſtias dignas offerre, noſtraque peccata "abluere immaculatis muneribus (*p*)."

(*o*) Dugd. Monaſticon. vol. i. p. 44. 196, etc.
(*p*) Thorne Chron. X. Scriptores, p. 2208.

It

It appears by the law relating to Danegeld, interpolated among those of Edward the Confessor, about the reign of Hen. II. that the Clergy then claimed their being exempt from this tax as an original right. This exemption only extended to *their demesne lands*, their other estates being charged with it.

Sir H. Spelman, in his Codex Legum Veterum, p. 304. hath inserted the following writ for exempting the bishop of Worcester from Danegeld.

" Breve Regis Hen. I. de non faciendo Episcopum Wigorn.
" geldare.

" Henricus Rex Anglorum Waltero de Bello Campo et collectoribus
" Wereceſtheſcire, Salutem. Precipio vobis ne amodo faciatis
" Episcopum Wigorniae geldare, etc. Teste. Ep. Sarum apud
" Winton."

This writ is imperfectly set forth by Sir H. Spelman; it is copied at large in Heming. Cartular. vol. i. p. 298. " Henricus rex Anglie
" Waltero de Bello Campo et coll. Wireceſtreſire ſalutem. Precipio
" vobis ne amodo facietis epiſcopum Wigornie Geldare de terra ſua
" de Wireceſtreſira niſi pro ccc et quater xx et vii hidis et dimidia,
" T. epiſcopo Sar. apud Wintoniam."

The demesne lands of the great lords and barons, and others, who held by military service, were in like manner exempted from the paying Danegeld.

The reason of this exemption seems to be, that it was unreasonable that those, whose persons were by tenure imployed to serve in the wars, should be doubly charged by paying for their lands to the same service.

Hen. I. in his Magna Charta, c. 2. which, as to this point, was only a renewal of what appears to have been the law and practice in the time of Will. I. confirms this opinion. " Militibus qui per
" loricas terras suas deserviunt, terras Dominicarum Carucarum sua-
" rum quietas ab omnibus geldis et ab omni opere proprio dono
" meo concedo, ut, sicut benignitas mea propensior est in eis, ita

" mihi fideles ſint; ut ſicut tam magni gravamine allevati ſunt, ita " equis et armis ſe bene inſtruant; ut apti et parati ſint ad ſervicium " meum, et ad defenſionem regni mei (*q*)."

In ſome inſtances lands were exempted from paying this tax by the king's particular order. " Habet abbas de Eoveſham v hidas " apud Haurtun Geldentes et x ſunt quiete de geldo per brevem " regis." Heming. Cartular. p. 315.

The barons of the Exchequer, ſheriffs of counties, and the aſſeſſors and collectors of the tax, were alſo exempted from paying Danegeld for their demeſne lands, or at leaſt for a part thereof.

A few extracts from the Exeter MS. will further explain what is advanced in this ſection.

" Dorſeta. In hundredo Etheminſtre ſunt xlvii hide et tantum " terrae habet ibi Sariſberienſis Ep̄s quantum poſſint arare vi car- " rucae. Inde habent barones in Dnīo vi hid. et i virgam et vi car. " Inde h't Ep̄s vi Car. et Rogerus Arundellus iii hid. et i virg. et " Briſtuinus Prepoſitus iii hidas. Et de xl hidis i virg. minus, habet " Rex xii libras, xviii denarios, *et* i *obol.* (*r*) minus. Et de dimidia hida " q̄ tenet Urſo de Arnulfo de Heſdine nunquam hu'it Rex. W. " Gildum. Et de dimidia hida q̄ tenet Dedemanus de Comite de " Moritonio non hu'it Rex Gildum hoc anno. Sed xii ſolide prae- " ſcriptorum q" deberent eſſe redditi ad primum terminum non ſunt " redditi uſque ad poſtremum. Exeter MS. p. 294. a.

" In Somerſetſcira. In hundreto Cumgreſbie ſunt xix hide. " Inde habet Rex de gildo ſuo xiii ſolidos et vi denarios pro ii hidis " et i virga. Et Rex et barones ſui habent in ſuo dominicatu v " hidas et i virgam. De his habet Rex iii hidas et dimidiam in " dominio. Et Ordricus iii virgas et Ordulſus dimidiam hide. Et " Alunardus dimidia hida et pro xi hidis, quas tenent villani Regis " de Cumgreſbie, non habet Rex gildum. Et pro dimidia hida, " quam tenent villani de eccleſia Cumgreſbienſi, non habet Rex " gildum. Lxix ſolid. reſtant de hoc hundredo ad perſolvendum." p. 4. a.

(*q*) Wilkins, p. 234.

(*r*) The words *et* i *obol.* ſhould be rejected.

In

In the Inquisitio Geldi for Devenescira. "Et pro 1 hida q̄ "clamant Fegadri se debere habere per consuetudinem non habuit "Rex gildum suum. In hundreto de Tantone —— Et pro 1 hida "q̄ tenent et clamant Hundremanni per suam consuetudinem non "habuit Rex gildum suum." Exeter MS. 315. a. There are the like customary allowances of one hide to the Fegadri in most of the hundreds.

By means of these several exemptions the produce of this tax was in the time of the Conqueror greatly diminished.

In Somersetshire out of 113 hides of land in Witestane hundred, p. 1. a. Danegeld was answered to the crown for no more than 50 hides. —— Out of 104 hides in Camesham hundred, p. 1. b. for only 50 hides. —— In Devonshire out of 25 hides in the hundred of Plintone, p. 316. a. it was paid only for 9 hides 1 virgate. —— In Dorsetshire out of 34½ hides in Pimpire hundred, p. 299. a. it was answered only for 13 hides. —— In Wiltshire out of 52 hides in Stapla hundred, p. 276. a. it was paid only for 14 hides and half a virgate. And in Cornwall out of 44 hides in Pantone hundred, Danegeld was answered for only 8 hides. p. 305. a.

The rectifying this abuse, and the additional hidage that might reasonably be expected from the improvements and increase of arable lands subsequent to the year 1013, were probably further reasons with William the Conqueror for making his survey.

IV.

Sir Henry Spelman, in his Glossary, p. 177. et 291. and in other places, says, "Misit autem rex Gulielmus, ut authori mihi sunt Annales "Waverliences MS. A°. 1083. regni 16. *Quinque* justitiarios suos per "unamquamque Scyram, id est, provinciam, Angliae, et inquirere fecit "per jusjurandum quot hidae, id est, jugera uni aratro sufficientia "per annum essent in unaquaque villa, etc."

In the Annals of Waverley, as published by Dr. Gale, in the Scriptores Angl. vol. ii. p. 133. the number of the justices or commissioners is not inserted. It is probable however the commissioners

or

or juſtices, that ſuperintended this ſervice in each county, was not leſs than the number mentioned by Sir Henry Spelman.

The Liber Wigorienſis hath preſerved the names of four of the perſons, who acted as commiſſioners on this occaſion in the county of Worceſter, and ſome other counties; they were ſtyled Barones Regis, and ſometimes Principes Regis.

Hemingi Cartular. vol. i. p. 288. In treating of the hundred called Oſwaldes Lau, belonging to the biſhop of Worceſter, its cuſtoms and privileges adds, that the truth of the account there given, "Teſtimonium totius comitatus Wireceaſtre, dato ſacramento juris "jurandi, firmavit —— tempore regis Willielmi ſenioris, coram "*principibus ejuſdem regis*, Remigio ſcilicet Lincolnienſi epiſcopo, et "comite Waltero Giffardo, et Henrico de Fereris, et Adam fratre "Eudonis dapiferi regis, qui ad inquirendas et deſcribendas poſſeſſiones "et conſuetudines tam regis quam principum ſuorum, in hac pro-"vincia et in pluribus aliis, ab ipſo rege deſtinati ſunt, eo tempore "quo Angliam idem rex deſcribi fecit."

In the ſame book, p. 75. An agreement made between the biſhop of Worceſter, and the abbot of Eveſham, is atteſted by "Remigio "epiſcopo et Henrico de Fereris, et Waltero Giffardo, et Adam, regis "principibus, *qui venerant ad inquirendas terras comitatus.*

V.

The jury, from whoſe inquiſitions Domeſday-book was formed, were impanelled and ſworn for each hundred ſeparately. The extracting and claſſing the ſubſtance of their returns under the general heads of Terra Regis, and of this or that religious houſe, or great lord, or landholder, was a ſubſequent work, collected out of the Returns after they were tranſmitted.

Sir H. Spelman was of opinion that theſe Inquiſitions, or, as he calls them, Comitatuum enarrationes, were all loſt (*r*). I have nevertheleſs the ſatisfaction to inform the Society, that this is not

(r) Codex legum Veterum, p. 292.

ſo: and that, in ſearching for the Liber Elienſis, I have had the good fortune to diſcover in the Cotton Library, a MS. copy of the Inquiſition of the jury, containing their ſurvey for moſt of the hundreds in Cambridgeſhire. This MS. is written on vellum in double columns, and on both ſides of the page. It is bound up with the Liber Elienſis, mentioned by Mr. Selden, in his preface to Eadmerus, and begins at p. 76. a. and ends at p. 113. b. It is written in a very fair but ancient character, not coeval with the Survey, but of about the time of Hen. II. It was given by Mr. Arthur Agard to Sir Robert Cotton, and is marked, Tiberius A. vi. 4. Your Lordſhip and the Society will be of opinion this is a diſcovery of importance, and what had eſcaped the obſervation of Sir H. Spelman, Mr. Selden, and our other Antiquarians.

A part of this valuable morſel of antiquity is already tranſcribed, and, in a few weeks, I hope to be able to communicate the whole of it to the Society.

In the mean time, your Lordſhip will not be diſpleaſed with the following ſpecimen, being a copy of this inquiſition, ſo far as it relates to the manor of Wimple, the eſtate of an illuſtrious member of this Society, the preſent Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

" In hundreto de Werleia —— Winepola pro quatuor hidis ſe
" defendit tempore regis Edwardi et modo. Et de his quatuor hidis
" tenet comes Alanus duas hidas et dimidiam et dimidiam virgam.
" Tribus ĉ eſt ibi terra. Una ĉ et due hide in dominio, et dimidia ĉ
" poteſt fieri; una ĉ et dimidia villanis. Duo villani, unus bordarius de
" quindecim acris, ſex cotarii pratum dimid. Car̃, duo ſervi, centum
" oves. Inter totum valet ſeptem libras, et quum recepit ſex libras,
" tempore Regis Edwardi, octo libras. Hanc terram tenuit Ediva
" pulchra. Et de his quatuor hidis tenet Humfridus Danſlevilla
" de Eudone Dapifer unam hidam et unam virgam et dimidiam,
" duabus carucis ibi eſt terra. Ambae carucae in dominio. Unus
" villanus, unus ſervus pratum unius Car̃, ſilva ad ſepes reficiendas,
" centum oves, ſex porci, duo runcini, quatuor aſini; inter totum valet

" centum

"centum ſolidos, et quum recepit centum ſolidos, tempore regis "Edwardi, centum et decem ſolidos. Hanc terram tenuit Comes "Gurd." Cotton MS. Tiberius A. vi. 4. p. 109. b. col. 2.

This paſſage from the Cotton MS. eſtabliſhes a fact, in which Antiquarians have not been agreed, i. e. how many virges made a hide; ſince, if two hides and a half and half a virge, and one hide and a virge and a half were equal to four hides, as it appears by this inquiſition they were, it follows, that two virges made half a hide, and conſequently that four virges were, at the time of the Conqueror's ſurvey, equal to a hide of arable land (*s*).

The new lights this and the Exeter MS. will throw upon Domeſday-book, and upon each other, and the great uſe they will be of in aſcertaining the preciſe and exact quantity of many of the ancient meaſures of land, hitherto eſteemed incapable of being reduced to any degree of certainty, I ſhall reſerve for a future paper I intend to have the honor to ſubmit to the Society.

P. C. W.

Great Queen-ſtreet,
2 March, 1756.

(*s*) The like concluſion may be drawn from the Extracts, p. 23. from the Exeter MS.

ADDENDA.

SECT. 3. p. 5. Holingſhed, in his Chronicle, vol. i. p. 239. A°. 991. ſpeaking of the firſt tribute of 10,000 l. paid to the Danes, ſays, " This money was called Danegylt, or Dane money, " and was levyed of the people. Although others take that to bee " Danegylte, whiche was gyuen unto ſuche Danes as king Egelred " afterwardes reteyned in his ſeruice to defende the lande from other " Danes and enimyes that ſought to inuade his dominions."

Dr. Brady, in his Treatiſe of Boroughs, appendix, page 8. deſcribes Danegeld to be " a *tax*, or money paid, and *impoſed*, and " levied for *defence* of the *nation* againſt the *Danes*, or rather an " annual *tribute* paid to them, that they might *abſtain* from *rapine*, " *burning*, and *ſlaughter*." See alſo his hiſtory of England, fol. 123.

Mr. Echard, in his hiſtory of England, book i. c. iv. p. 99. A°. 1012. ſays, " It appears from the *Saxon laws*, that beſides the pay- " ment of 48,000 l. it was *this year* reſolved that a yearly payment " ſhould be made called *Danegeld*, that is, twelve pence upon every " hide of land in the nation, for the ſubſiſtance of thoſe who were " to hinder the irruptions of the *Danes* and other pirates; which tax " continued for about thirty eight years, till it was remitted by " Edward the Confeſſor. So that there was two ſorts of *Danegeld*; " the former thoſe five occaſional ſums formerly recited; the latter " that continued tax laſt mentioned. But both ſorts alike contributed " to the ends for which they were paid."

The Saxon law alluded to by Mr. Echard, is the law De Danegeldo, mentioned page 15. to be *interpolated* in the time of Hen. II. among thoſe aſcribed to Edward the Confeſſor.

Sect. 5. p. 8. Among the Anglo-Saxon laws of Ethelred, publiſhed by Lambard in his Archaionomia, there is a treaty ſuppoſed to have

have been made by Ethelred with the Danish army commanded by Anlaf, Justin, and Guthmund, the three Danish generals who invaded England, A°. 991. The tribute of 22,000 l. agreed to be paid to the Danes by this treaty is not reconcileable to what passed at that period.

But if the treaty, printed by Mr. Lambard, be considered not as that made in 991. but as a renewal in 1012. of what Ethelred possibly promised in 991. but had not performed before 1012. it will account for the different commencements our historians give to the tax in question.

Several expressions in the treaty seem to countenance this opinion.

" Foedus, quod *olim* Ethelredus rex *cum exercitu* Anlavi, Justini, " et Guthmundi Stegeti filii ex sapientum suorum consilio feriit.

" 1. Imprimis, mundanae pacis *foedus* Ethelredo regi ac omni " populo cum exercitu illo, cui pecuniam rex erogavit, stabile ratum- " que esto, *ad formulam pactionis* a Sigericio archiepiscopo, Aethel- " vardo, et Aelfrico, senatoribus factae, cum *primo* impetrarunt a rege " ut *illi* terrae portiunculae, quam sub eo *gubernabant*, pacem *eis* pretio " *conciliare liceret*. Siquis igitur posthac navalis apparatus in Angliam " *praedam fecerit*, hic nobis auxilium ferat *exercitus*, nosque *ei* " (quamdiu in fide manserit) quae ad commeatum suppeditent para- " bimus omnia: atque si cum iis qui in Anglia fuerint praedati pacem " fecerit, extera natio aliqua nobis atque exercitui cum ea inimicitiae " intercedunto."

" 8. —— Datis quidem exercitui auri et argenti viginti duobus " millibus pondo, pacem Angli impetrarunt."

The *reference* to the formula of the peace made by the archbishop, Aethelwald, and Aelfric [which was concluded A°. 991.] seems to imply that this treaty was made *subsequent* to that time. —— The first article begins with a *renewal* of peace between the Danes and the English. —— It speaks of the transaction [which happened in 991.] as a thing passed, the terms of which, Ethelred esteemed so very dishonourable, that he recites it not as a treaty he had entered into *himself*,

himself, but as a *licence* granted by him to the archbishop and the other two lords, to make peace with the Danes for protecting *their own particular estates.* ——— "Ad formulam pactionis a Sigericio "archiepiscopo, Aethelwardo et Aelfrico facta, cum *primo* impe- "trarunt a rege, ut *illi* terrae portiunculae, quam sub eo guberna- "bant, pacem *eis* pretio conciliare *liceret.*"

Ethelred, by the words of this part of the treaty, intended probably to have it understood, that Siricus and his collegues made the treaty of 991. except as to what concerned their *own* particular estates, *without his authority:* The next expression, ——— "quamdiu "in fide manserit," ——— appears to allude to the Danes breach of treaties subsequent to the year 991.

The Latin translations of this treaty, in Brompton and Wilkins, differ materially in several particulars from each other, and from that published by Lambard. By comparing them together, and with the Saxon original, the Society will determine whether my conjectures are well founded or not.

Ðis sÿnd ða frib mal. ⁊ ða forþord ðe Æþelred Cÿng. ⁊ ealle his þitan þið ðone here gedon habbaþ. ðe Anlaf. ⁊ Justin. ⁊ Guþmund Stegetan sunu mid þæron:·

1. Ðæt ærost. ⁊ þorulð frið stande betþeoxe Æþelrede Cÿning. ⁊ eallum his leodscipe. ⁊ eallum ðæm here ðe se Cÿng ⁊ feoh sealde. æfter ðæm formalan ðe Sigeric Arcebiscop. ⁊ Æþelþeard Ealdorman. ⁊ Ælfric Ealdorman þorhton. ða hi abædon æt þæm Cÿnge ⁊ hÿ moston ðam læppan frÿþ gebicgean. ðe hi under Cÿnges hand ofer hæfdon:· ⁊ gif ænig scipherе on Englalande hergie. ⁊ þe hæbban heora ealra fultum. ⁊ þe him sculon mete findan. ðahþile ðe hÿ mid us beoþ:· And ælc ðæra landa ðe ænigne friþige ðæra ðe Englaland hergie. beo hit utlah þiþ us. ⁊ þiþ ealne here:·

8. ——— Tþa ⁊ tþentig ðusend punda goldes. ⁊ seolfres. mon gesealde ðæm here of Ænglalande þið friþe:· Wilkins, p. 104, 105.

Brompton's translation. " Haec sunt verba pacis et praelocutiones, " quas Ethelredus rex et omnes sapientes ejus *cum exercitu* firmave- " runt, qui cum Analavo, et Justino, et Gudaermundo Stegiani filio " venit.

" 1. Hoc imprimis, ut pax mundi stet inter Ethelredum regem et " omnem populum ejus, et omnem exercitum cui rex pecuniam suam " dedit, post elocutiones quas Sigericus Archiepiscopus et Ethelredus " Aldermannus, et Ealfricus Aldermannus fecerunt, postquam im- " petraverunt a rege quod possent illis portiunculae pacem emere quam " sub manu regis semper habebant. Si navalis exercitus Angliam " infestet, ut habeamus eorum omne auxilium, et ministrabimus eis " victum quamdiu nobiscum erunt. Et omnis terra quae aliquem " eorum manuteneat qui Angliam inquietant, sit exlex apud nos et " omnem exercitum."

" 8. —— Viginti millia librarum auri et argenti data fuerunt ex- " ercitui *de Anglia* pro pace (*a*).".

Dr. Wilkins's translation. " Hoc est foedus et pactum, quod " Aethelredus rex et Sapientes *cum exercitu illo* fecerunt, qui cum " Anlavo et Justino et Guthmundo Stegetani filio erant.

" 1. Primum, ut mundana pax consistat inter Aethelredum regem " et omnem ejus populum, et exercitum illum omnem cui rex " pecuniam dedit post pactiones quas Sigericus archiepiscopus et " Aethelweardus et Aelfricus senatores fecerunt, cum impetrarent a " rege, ut possent pacem emere illi parti terrae, quam sub regis im- " perio gubernabant. Et si quis navalis exercitus Angliam infestaret, " ut habeamus eorum omnium auxilium, et nos ei debeamus alimenta " parare quamdiu nobiscum est. Et quaelibet regio, quae pacem " aliquam feriat cum iis qui Angliam infestant, sit exlex apud nos et " apud totum exercitum.

" 8. —— XXII millia librarum auri et argenti data sunt *exercitui* " *Anglico* pro pace (*b*)."

(*a*) Brompton, inter Decem Scriptores, vol. i. p. 899.
(*b*) Wilkins Leges Angl. Saxon. p. 104.

Each

Each of these three translations appear to be incorrect in many particulars.

Sect. 9. and 10. p. 14. Peter Langtoft, A°. 1013. p. 44. thus describes the distresses occasioned by this tax.

Now comes Suane eft ageyn with Criste's malison,
þe lond leid to taliage so mykelle on ilk a toun,
þat noþer erle no baron of alle þer heritage
Myght not lyue þer on, to gif þer taliage.

And page 54.

Þardeknout did charge þe lond in suilk treuwage,
þat noþer erle no barone myght lyue for taliage.

Peter Langtoft, in his Chronicle, p. 57. says, this tax was abolished by Edward the Confessor, in consequence of a treaty made between him and the king of Denmark.

Eft Suane, þe Danes kyng, his lond did underfonge,
& eft untille Edward Suane sent ageyn,
& praied him bituex þam þe pes wer certeyn.
Edward him granted, opon suilk a wise,
þat neuer þe Dangilde for ne non of hise,
Suld be chalenged for man of Danes lond,
& Suane, kyng of Danmark, to þat conant him bond.
Þus was þe pes granted with skrite on boþe sides,
& þe Danes gilde forgyuen, þat neuer eft bitides.

Sect. 13. p. 19. Reg. prioratus de Dunstaple, p. 97. A°. 1220. "Eodem anno mense Septembri positum est Caruagium per totum "regnum ad opus domini regis. A quo archiepiscopi et episcopi, et "omnes clerici, et omnes viri religiosi *et eorum rustici quieti fuerunt.* "Verumtamen episcopi per suas dioceses collegerunt auxilium ad "opus domini regis ab abbatibus et prioribus, per liberam voluntatem "eorum: et tunc domus de Dunstaple solvit tres marcas."

Eodem anno [1224.] p. 145. "Rex obsedit Bedfordiam, in cujus "auxilium venit Cantuariensis archiepiscopus cum episcopis et abbati-

"bus

" bus ſuffraganeis: et inſuper conceſſerunt ei caruagium, ſcilicet " *dimidiam marcam* de ſingulis carucis *dominicis*, et duos ſolidos de " ſingulis carucis tenentium ſuorum; et duos operarios de ſingulis " hydis ad machinas exercendas. Sed, ne hoc traheretur alias in " ſervitutem, dominus rex fecit eis cartas de futuri temporis immu- " nitate." Vide Rot. Pat. 8 Hen. III. Auxilium regi conceſſum per clerum Anglie contra Fulk de Breaunt inimicum ſuum, qui Caſtrum de Bedford contra regem muniri fecit. *m.* 3.

ERRATA and ADDENDA.

PAGE 1. the laſt line but 3. dele *Gale*, and inſert *Agard*.

1. Mr. Arthur Agard, from an entry in the book of Dunſtaple (*a*), ſuppoſes the number of hides to be much leſs, than what Mr. Tate, Sir Henry Spelman, and Mr. Camden mention. The numbers in the book of Dunſtaple are not to be relied upon. To mention one only of many reaſons that occur in ſupport of that opinion, they ſtate the number of hides in the whole diviſion of *Danelaga*, which comprehends eighteen of the 32 ſhires, to be only 3200, which muſt be greatly too low. The author, however, thought it unneceſſary to enter further, than he had done, into that ſubject at preſent; as from the peruſal of the Domeſday record, the exact number of hides may with preciſion be aſcertained.

2. An additional evidence that the *firſt* payments to the Danes were only *occaſional*, and not *annual*, or raiſed by the annual land-tax properly called Danegeld on the ſubject, may be collected from a charter of Ethelred to the abbey of St. Alban's, dated A°. 1006. printed in the additions to Matth. Paris, p. 242. which mentions that Ethelred borrowed 200l. of abbot Leofric, on a mortgage of lands towards raiſing money to pay the Danes [" Quando illud grave " vectigal Danis exſolvebamus."] Ingulphus, p. 55. and other writers have paſſages of the like tendency.

3. Mr. Prynn, and Mr. Lambard, have adopted the miſtake, that theſe firſt payments were *ſtated* and *annual*.

Mr. Prynn, in his Vindication, Vol. i. p. 292. ſays, " Ethelred " purchaſed his peace with the Danes, by an *annual* tribute of " Danegeld, augmented by degrees, from 10,000 to 48,000 l. *a* " *year*, and that by the ill counſel of Siricus."

(*a*) Hearne's Collection of Curious Diſcourſes, p. 72. and Append. Regiſt. Honoris de Richmond, p. 9.

It appears from Steph. Birchington's list of the archbishops of Canterbury, published in Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Vol. i. p. 4. that Siricus, from this transaction, obtained the surname of *Danegeld.*

Mr. Lambard, in his Perambulation of Kent, p. 135. varies in the account, but as to this point is as much mistaken as Mr. Prynn. He says, " Ethelred charged his people with importable tributes; " that he first gave the Danes, at five several payes, 113,000 l. and " afterwards promised them 48,000 l. *yearly*." And p. 431. he says, " The Danes received, besides daily victual, 48,000 l. in ready coin, " of the subjects of this realm, while their king Swein lived; and " 21,000 l. after his death, under his son Canutus."

4. Leland, in his Collectanea, Vol. i. hath two passages which have conduced to propagate this mistake, p. 260. —— " Siricus " archiepiscopus Cantuar. qui Dunstano successit, autor fuit ut vectigal " *annuum* decem mil. librarum Danis penderetur."

P. 11. —— " Tributum, quod Angli Danis *annuatim* dabant, " auctum ad septuaginta duo millia librarum, et eo amplius, *per* " *annum* (*b*), et sine hoc quod de Londonia dabatur, undecim millia " librarum. Tunc qui habuerunt ad tantum tributum solvendum, da- " bant. Qui non habuerunt, terras et possessiones et alias res irrecupe- " rabiliter perdiderunt. Unde factum est ut Ecclesia de Burch, et " aliae multae, multa perdiderint."

Page 29. of the Addenda, dele the word *Anlaf*, and the word *three*.

5. The *title* of the treaty, mentioned in the Addenda, p. 29. appears to be mistaken, and affords a further objection against the treaty itself. The army of Danes that made the descent in 991. when this treaty is supposed to be concluded, by the advice of Siricus, Ethelward, and Alfric, was commanded by Justin and Guthmund, two Danish generals; and not by *Anlaf*, who was king of Norway. Anlaf's descent was not till A°. 993. and 994. as the

(*b*) Vide Hugonis Candidi Coenobii Burgensis Historia, p. 41. from whence Leland transcribed this passage.

Saxon Chronicle, and all our historians agree. This fact is not reconcileable with the treaty, which is supposed to be made with an army commanded jointly by Anlaf, Justin, and Guthmund.

6. The Saxon Chronicle is mistaken with respect to this period "A°. 991. p. 126. (without naming Justin or Guthmund, or saying "who commanded the Danish army) hoc anno devastabatur Gip-"piwic, et brevi postea fuit Brihtnothus dux interfectus apud Mael-"dune." —— A°. 993. p. 127. "Hoc anno venit Unlafus cum XCIII "navibus ad Stane —— inde ad Maeldune, ubi adversum eos venit "Byrthnothus dux cum suis copiis, cumque iis depugnabat; verum "ducem istum ibi interfecerunt, et loco stragis dominati sunt, "paxque cum iis facta est, ac eum postea rex in consecratione "suscepit, etc."

It is not pretended that there were two battles fought at Maeldune, one in 991. the other in 993. or that the Brihtnothus mentioned A°. 991. and the Byrthnothus mentioned A°. 993. are not the same person. It appears, therefore, difficult to account how a person killed in 991. could fight and be killed again in 993.

9. Alured of Beverley, in his Annals, describes the unhappy situation England was in during the reign of king Ethelred in the following words:

"Quo regnante [Agelredo] tocius Angliae status quam variabilis "tam miserabilis extitit. Siquidem Dani, Norwegenses, atque aliae "exterae naciones, qui à tempore gloriosi regis Adelstani, usque ad "tempus istius Agelredi per annos circiter L. ab Anglia abstinuerant, "regnante eo reversi, totam fere Angliam in desolacionem adduxerunt. "Adversus quos quociens rex Agelredus dimicaturus erat, tociens "Angli aut ducum suorum, qui ex paterno genere Dani erant, dolis "circumventi, aut aliquo infortunio impediti, hostibus victoriam "dederunt. Unde rex Agelredus quos ferro nequibat, eos *argento* "repellere temptavit. Consilio enim Sirici Doroborensis archiepiscopi, "et ducum Angliae, ut à rapinis, cremacionibus, et hominum caedibus "abstinerent, rex Agelredus cum Danis tributa reddendo *foedera pacis* "iniit. Sed ipsi Danica perfidia pejora prioribus addentes, *condiciones*

"*pacis*

" *pacis* ſemper praevaricati ſunt. Primo tributum x millium librarum " perſolutum eſt. Secundo XVI millium librarum. III. XXIIII mil- " lium librarum. IIII. XXXVI millium librarum. quinto XLVIII mil- " lium librarum. Summa centum XXXIIII millium librarum. Et " cum tanta pecunia eſſet perſoluta, Dani aliquantiſper quieſcentes " ſtimulante avaricia rurſus ad regni vaſtacionem reverſi ſunt. Jam " vero per omnes provincias agris vaſtatis, villis praedatis, civitatibus " crematis, eccleſiis ſpoliatis, clericorum et monachorum aliis ferro " jugulatis, aliis flammis conſumptis, aliis de muris praecipitatis, aliis " ſuſpenſis, matronis cruribus per plateas diſtractis, et demum ignibus " injectis parvulis à matrum uberibus avulſis, aut lanceis exceptis, aut " ſuperacto carro minutatim contritis, Sancto eciam Alfego archiepiſ- " copo martirizato, et monachis ſuis cum populo decimatim occiſis, " quorum ſumma fuit IIII *monachi* (*c*) et octingenti viri, ad ultimum " tota fere Anglia praeter Lundonias, ubi rex Agelredus morabatur, " Danorum regi Suano manus dedit. Ipſi vero Lundonienſes obſides " illi mittentes pacem cum eo fecerunt. Quod cernens rex Ageldredus " reginam Emmam, filiam ducis Normannorum Ricardi primi, ad " fratrem ſuum ſecundum Ricardum comitem Normannorum miſit, " et cum ea filios ſuos Edwardum et Alueredum cum magiſtro illorum " Lundonienſi epiſcopo Alwino, et Eliſio abbate de Burch miſit. " Ipſe eciam eos ſecutus Normanniam advehitur." Aluredi Beverlacenſis Annal. lib. viii. p. 114.

(*c*) Lege *Mille*.

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A short account of danegeld :
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